2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

735 lately, in places frequented by tourists, people are beginning to
177 ask for money as a return for a service. Ordinarily even a child would be scolded and shamed by anyone who heard him ask something from a stranger. A gift must be reciprocated and we
431 were often embarrassed by the return presents of our poor neigh-
123 bours. We gave Ktut Adi, a little dancer of eight, a scarf of no great value; one day soon after she came to us with a basket of rice, some eggs, and a live chicken, carried by her mother because the load was too great for her. Children of the neighbourhood that Rose had treated for infected wounds always came back with presents of fruit, cakes, or rice which they handed casually to our house-boy, never mentioning them to us, as if they wanted to avoid making a demonstration of their generosity. Even children have a strong sense of pride.

565 The aristocracy is despotic and arrogant, but the ordinary
181 people, although used to acknowledging the superiority of their masters, are simple and natural in an unservile and unsubmissive way. By the threat of passive disobedience and boycott they kept
[626] the princes from overstepping their bounds. Europeans com-
[648] plain that the Balinese make bad servants; they are too free, too frank, and do not respond to the insolent manner that the white man has adopted as " the only way to deal with natives."

577 Their moral code consists in maintaining their traditional behaviour, observing their duties towards their fellow villagers and paying due respect to the local feudal princes. Among themselves they are kind and just, avoiding unnecessary quarrels and solving their disputes by the simplest and most direct methods.

621 The villages are organized into compact boards or councils,
476 independent of other villages. Every married man — that is,
[623] every grown man — is a member of the council and is morally and physically obliged to co-operate for the welfare of the community. A man is assisted by his neighbours in every task he cannot perform alone; they help him willingly and as a matter of duty, not expecting any reward other than the knowledge that, were they in his case, he would help in the same manner. In this way

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

cremation of the Regent of Buleleng's daughter, a small pavilion caught fire near where the high priest performed the *maweda*, almost burning, prematurely, the corpse lying in state; the priest went on with his prayer totally unmindful of the wild screams of the women attendants and the rushing relatives, who extinguished the flames.

To become himself again, the priest sprinkles water towards him and "drives back his soul into the stomach." He takes off his ornaments and pins a little bouquet of multi-coloured flowers over his hair knot. This ends the ceremony, and he sprinkles his relatives and neighbours with the remaining holy water.

Despite the secrecy with which the priests surround the knowledge of the Sanskrit *mantras*, a good many of them have been studied and translated by Dutch and Javanese scholars, such as De Kat Angelino, R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, and Dr. R. Goris, and I refer those interested in *mantras* to their works. Most sacred of all the aphorisms of the *pedandas*, and as typical as any, is the *kuta mantra*: "OM, HRAM HRUM SAH, PARAMA-SHÎVA-DITYÂTA NAMAH: Om, hram hrum sah, praise be to the all-high Shiva, the Sun" (Goris).

Religious knowledge is transmitted from father to son or from teacher (*gurú*) to pupil (*sisiya*). The priest then becomes his pupil's absolute master and his father; even in case there be no blood relationship between them, marriage with the teacher's daughter would be considered as incest, a most dreadful crime. All Brahmanas are eligible to become *pedandas* with the exception of lepers, madmen, epileptics, the deformed, and those who have received dishonourable punishments. The pupil learns Kawi first, the classic language, to study the preparatory texts; is taught the moral principles by which to rule his life, which are, according to De Kat Angelino, the capital sins: crime, greed, hypocrisy, envy and ill temper, morbidness; the five commandments for the outer world: Thou shalt not kill, not steal, be chaste, not be violent, adhere to the principle of passive resistance; and those for the inner self: avoid of impure foods, or

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

anger, remain conscious of the teachings, and be in unison with the teacher.

Later on, he studies Sanskrit (*sloka*) and learns the *Wedas*. Eventually he is initiated by his teacher in a most elaborate ceremony, which I know only by hearsay, in which the teacher leads the hands of his pupil with his own hands to perform his first *maweda*. The pupil makes repeated reverences (*sembah*) to his teacher and to the sun, washes and kisses his teacher's feet, and receives his priestly credentials, a secret document containing powerful formulas written on a blade of *lontar* palm. I have been told that the pupil "dies" symbolically during the ceremony and is reborn as a priest, and that his body is then washed and treated exactly like a corpse.

As conclusion, we find that the amazing conglomerate of traditions, beliefs, and philosophies that together constitute the Balinese religion, one that is as complex and tangled as can be found anywhere today, alone is the most powerful motivating force to the entire life of the island. Our knowledge of Bali is as young as the history of its contacts with the West, and a good deal will have to be unravelled before we can have a clear picture of that unique product of tropical Asia, the character of the Balinese, which is reflected in the fantastic interpretation of religious ideas from India, China, and Java. These were at times assimilated with a sense of practical logic, at times obviously misunderstood; but the result was a healthy and thoroughly Balinese manner of belief. Despite Hinduistic deviations, religious symbols and ideas retained much of their original, primitive simplicity, and fanaticism and idolatry did not overshadow the ancient animist worship of nature and of the elements.

Whatever the source of these ideas may be, the Balinese worship the sun, the earth, and water as sources of life-giving fertility; fire is a purifying element. The sea receives offerings once a year in a great feast in Lebih on the Gianyar coast. Also sources of fertility, and the dwellings of the gods, are the moun-

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
OF7 Bali OF7

many hundreds of years static, it has been possible for these laws to grow up, to be sifted and tested over a long period, until they have reached a code eminently suitable to the people whom they govern. For this reason it becomes easy for the child to take over the ways of his elders—the more forcibly impressed upon him because of the weight of tradition behind them, and the fear of transgressing the laws which have been shown by experience to be acceptable to the ever-present gods and demons. Actually the child is afforded no choice at all under the sanction of the community. He has only to obey the prescriptions of tradition to become an adult happily adjusted to the life which is his. And if the child is a girl, she begins very early to feel how her rôle is differentiated from that of a boy. The women accept without rancor the rôle of an inferior. It is simply that they have their being on a different plane from the men. In a society with so many stratifications, that of age within the family, of rank and of relative wealth as between families, the place of woman as an inferior is not seen as a hardship. The system of stratification works smoothly, as a rule, and all those individuals who conform to it seem happy. It is a part of the very order which gives to the life of the Balinese its stability.

When the Rules May Be Broken

The Balinese way of life even provides an organized release from the rigid code, times when individuals who feel the need of it may break almost all the rules of decorum. These are the occasions of intense and fevered group activity. There is no space here to describe these manifestations in detail, and a few examples of what I mean must suffice. In the prolonged and enthusiastic rehearsals of musicians, actors, and dancers, when all work together in a group, no attention is paid to relative rank, and a performer of noble birth takes his place in equality with the group—he sits on a level with his social inferiors, and bows to their will in matters of artistic production, if their talent be superior to his. At communal feasts men who are accustomed to eating in private gather in groups to partake of the unusual viands and delicacies which they have prepared. Here the taboos do not quite break down, for although they regale themselves with relish, no conversation is allowed between the members feasting together. At the celebration of cremations, several hundred men together cast off their habitual carefully poised bearing, and taking up the body of their friend, or the tower which is to convey

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Batak OD5
Bali OF7

being given by his profit-sharing custodian, and before the animal produces offspring, the custodian must be recompensed for the cost of maintenance. But this does not hold, if he has profited from the labor of the cattle.

Local custom and individual variations give these agreements many different aspects.

Not only large beasts, like cattle, but also goats, chickens and ducks are made productive on this basis of mutual cooperation.

The native terms which apply to this institution are frequently similar to those for sharecropping. (See p. 118.)

D. INDIVIDUAL CREDIT TRANSACTIONS

1. *Distinctions.*—The loaning of money, with or without interest has become a regular feature of Indonesian civilization. It is a legal transaction engaged in not only with Arabs, Chinese, natives of India, and Europeans, but also between Indonesian and Indonesian. Not the least of its causes is the need to meet financial obligations to the Government.

Islamic prohibition of interest-taking still inhibits money-lending to some degree, but the number of native money-lenders and credit societies is legion. The Bataks even distinguish "manganahi," to lend at interest, from "morsali," to lend without interest.

The lending (utang or meminjam) of goods, store-goods, food, and the like is common, as is the loaning of money with an understanding for repayment in fruits, crops, hides and similar commodities.

The concepts of cash sales and credit sales both have the common denominator of sales. Not so in Indonesian, where the two concepts are contrasted as essentially different: "membeli menjual" (sale) as against "meminjam" or "meminjamkan" (credit).

Dunning the debtor must be done with courtesy and consideration. Among the Bataks, in Bali and elsewhere, merely accosting a person about an overdue debt on the public road is bad form.

2. *Liability for the debt of another.*—This may, in the first place, be the result of kinship liabilities. A debt of any member of the clan is a debt of the group, particularly if it is an adat obligation, which must be fulfilled. A demand that the debt be met can be imposed on any of the clan members. A man who loads excessive obligations on his clan fellows may be expelled and placed outside the adat. This is exactly the same as the way in which a piece of the area of disposal may be given up, if a community is unwilling or